



## Beats and beliefs: Miss Raisa's digital advocacy, autobiographical journey and the quest for identity, integration and empowerment

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**To cite this article:** Cristián H. Ricci (2025) Beats and beliefs: Miss Raisa's digital advocacy, autobiographical journey and the quest for identity, integration and empowerment, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 26:2, 209-230, DOI: [10.1080/14636204.2025.2505238](https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2025.2505238)

**To link to this article:** <https://doi.org/10.1080/14636204.2025.2505238>



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Published online: 03 Jun 2025.



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Moroccan girls and teenagers growing up in Catalonia. They explore the relationship between Western and Muslim feminisms and how the fight for gender equality influences the construction of their identity in modern Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Miss Raisa is Spain's first female Muslim rapper. Her autobiography starts with her family's emigration from Morocco to Barcelona in 2004 when she was eight. This is her second published work, following a collection of poetry and lyrics titled *Pintaré los colores* (2022). *Porque me da la gana* is written in the first person, mainly as a form of confession throughout the narrative, and at times in the style of social media posts, mirroring what she frequently does in her role as an influencer (with half-a-million followers on TikTok, 62,000 on Instagram and 45,000 on YouTube, as of April 2025).<sup>2</sup> As her influence has grown, she has experienced discrimination for wearing a hijab and for being a woman in the male-dominated world of rap music. In her autobiography, the artist looks back and shares the story of how she transitioned from a child into an adult who defied and overcame all the prejudices she encountered along the way to become (in her own words): "una mujer libre, orgullosa, empoderada y, sobre todo, comprometida a hacer del mundo un lugar mejor" (Miss Raisa 2022a, 6). Through hybrid practices that combine Muslim elements with cultural expressions characteristic of European youth, such as popular culture and street culture, in a broad sense, it is possible to situate her autobiography and social media presence within the emergence of Islamic rap and Muslim urban fashion. Thus, a "combination of popular culture and ethics" is consecrated, as studied by Imene Ajala (2017, 6).

This essay critically addresses Miss Raisa's use of various platforms to craft a narrative that intermittently diverges from coherence. Her content, which ostensibly promotes empowerment and feminism, explicitly addresses a broad spectrum of immigrant communities adapting to life in Catalonia – including North African Muslims, sub-Saharan Africans, Pakistanis and Latin Americans. She initially presents herself as a representative of these communities, particularly young Muslim women navigating cultural hybridity, racism and gendered expectations, though she later questions and distances herself from that role. By blending diverse cultural and religious identities, she seeks to challenge stereotypes associated with the immigrant experience. However, this narrative, rooted in popular feminism, warrants scrutiny for potentially perpetuating anti-immigrant or Islamophobic sentiments under the guise of empowerment. The essay is organized into two sections, each examining a distinct aspect of feminist discourse through Miss Raisa's experiences. The first section, titled "Hijab on", examines how she expresses feminist ideologies within the broader socioeconomic contexts while wearing the hijab. It addresses the issue of authenticity, highlighting the tensions between the strategies employed to gain recognition and empowerment online. This section underscores the conflict between religiosity, sartorial choices and the commodification of the body in the quest for digital visibility. The second section, "Hijab off", analyzes the shift in her feminist themes and autobiography following the removal of the hijab, highlighting her more conservative views on responsibilities and dynamics within the immigrant community. This section also delves into her reassessment of Muslim feminism, its ambivalence within mainstream feminist discourse, and the intersection of Islam, feminism and mainstream culture. "Hijab off" questions whether perspectives from the younger Euro-Muslim demographic could contribute to a more inclusive feminist critique within a neoliberal framework.<sup>3</sup> Overall, the essay highlights the significance of

combat” demonstrates how these artists resist and redefine prevailing assumptions about language use and social hierarchies in both North Africa and Europe (Calderwood 2022, 874–875). Through this resistance, Khaled creates new cultural identities within a broader historical and geopolitical context that includes the legacies of al-Andalus, colonialism and migration (Calderwood 2019, 57–61). As a female artist, Miss Raisa plays a significant role in the broader translocal and transnational dialogue that is redefining both Spanish and global hip-hop. Her music navigates the tensions between local realities and global cultural influences, highlighting hip-hop’s increasing inclusivity and the pivotal role of women in transforming its cultural and political landscapes.

Similarly, Lara Dotson-Renta suggests that hip-hop in Spain functions as a “shared language of contestation” (2021, 377), fostering connections across national borders and resonating with common histories of colonialism, patriarchy and marginalization. This translocal dynamic further positions Miss Raisa within a movement transcending ethnic and national identities, focusing on building communities rooted in common experiences of resistance and identity formation. Like the global hip-hop movement described by Dotson-Renta (2021), Miss Raisa’s work invites audiences to explore dynamic cultural spaces where identities are fluid and evolving. Let us examine how she portrays themes of resistance and contestation in her songs:

Dices que estoy loca por defender mis derechos ... / Si ser un hombre fuera la fuerza y la dureza, / entonces soy un tío, ¿por dónde se empieza? / Si supieras lo que es ser mujer, sabrías con certeza / lo que es ser un *real man*, pero con nobleza. (Miss Raisa 2019b)<sup>4</sup>

Hablo cinco idiomas y luego soy yo la tonta, / cuando ellos solo hablan uno y ni siquiera les importa. / Me llaman inculta, retrasada y que soy yo la corta, / però de capacitat i mentalment jo sóc la més forta ... / Nos llamáis incultos y también ignorantes / cuando gracias a bibliotecas árabes hoy tenéis arte. / Inventamos los números, invento muy importante, / para calcular vuestro retraso humano, que es flipante. (Miss Raisa 2019a)<sup>5</sup>

Siguen con pensamientos antiguos, medievales. / Podrían actualizarse y ser un poco más reales ... / Empezó a cambiar y a hacerse respetar, / frenando a esa gente que la quiso destrozarse. / Todo sin violencia, inteligencia emocional. / Por fin, su objetivo ya pudo lograr. (Miss Raisa 2019c)<sup>6</sup>

By foregrounding the contributions of Arab civilizations, she subverts Eurocentric narratives that historically positioned non-Western cultures as inferior. This subversion challenges the colonial mindset, emphasizing the intellectual and cultural achievements that are often overlooked or diminished by dominant narratives. Her interrogation of patriarchal norms involves redefining traditional concepts of strength and gender. By asserting that qualities such as nobility and resilience transcend gender binaries, she destabilizes patriarchal constructs that associate strength exclusively with masculinity. This critique demands a reconsideration of gendered notions of power and challenges the restrictive binaries that have long been enforced by patriarchal ideologies. Furthermore, Miss Raisa’s work aligns with a form of hip-hop that challenges stereotypes, particularly those associated with the demonization of Islam, poverty, social exclusion and traditional gender norms, promoting a conscious engagement with these issues. Her use of hip-hop aims to serve as a vital instrument for identity construction within a diasporic framework, underlining hip-hop’s capacity to unite producers and consumers in a collective challenge against established stereotypes. This further highlights the issue

Gill and Shani Orgad, in their collaborative works (2015, 2017, 2018), pivot the conversation towards valorizing confidence and resilience. They introduce an evolving narrative of female subjectivity and empowerment that emphasizes the pursuit of happiness and self-fulfillment, marking a departure from traditional feminist tenets such as autonomy and justice. This transition signifies a shift towards a feminist ethos that prioritizes personal well-being and individual responsibility. However, this shift also highlights a feminist landscape increasingly dominated by media-endorsed feminism, including celebrity and corporate manifestations. This scenario complicates the feminist discourse, potentially reinforcing the power structures it seeks to dismantle. Against this backdrop, the narrative and media representation of Miss Raisa, alongside other prominent Muslim women influencers on Instagram in the UK and Spain – such as Dina Torkia (@DinaTokio), Rio Paraiso/Kauzar (@rioparaiso\_18), and Al-safaat (@al\_safaatt) – become pivotal in understanding contemporary Euro-Muslim feminist discourse. Although these influencers are not directly associated with hip-hop, their contributions offer significant insights into modern issues by engaging with topics such as modest fashion, Islamic culture and cosmetics tailored for Muslim women. Additionally, they play a crucial role in empowering Muslim women to venture into entrepreneurship through social media platforms. With Dina Torkia boasting 1.1 million followers and Rio Paraiso and Al-safaat each commanding a following exceeding 175,000, their influence is substantial. This impact further enriches the ongoing discussions surrounding feminism and the lived experiences of Muslim women in today's society. By examining their journeys, we can gain a deeper understanding of how these voices contribute to and reflect the evolving dynamics of identity, culture and empowerment.<sup>8</sup>

In Miss Raisa's posts and videos, viewers can see the blend of Muslim and Western fashion worn by the Maghrebis of Barceloneta: a girl wearing a hijab paired with a Gucci crossbody bag, Lacoste tracksuit and Puma sneakers. These visual elements underscore the complex interaction between cultural identity and consumerism. On the one hand, these images conveyed through social media are rich with symbolism, expressing authenticity, trust, consolidation of identities, resilience, determination, empowerment and personal expression in just a few minutes. On the other hand, as Imene Ajala argues, "young Muslims in the West reinterpret Islamic dress in the context of consumerist trends prevalent in neoliberal societies" (Ajala 2017, 1). This suggests that these youths do not embody a *closed identity* – a term referring to a fixed, unchanging self-concept limited to traditional or singular cultural markers. Instead, they navigate and embrace tendencies that have historically been seen as contradictory.

For instance, Miss Raisa embodies "cool Islamism" by representing international brands such as Maybelline Spain, Tommy Hilfiger, Bershka, Puma and Wallapop, while also appearing in a campaign video for Spain's Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) that promotes union elections and membership. In her autobiography, she aligns herself with this movement, stating, "pasé a ser una *musulmana cool*" (Miss Raisa 2022a, 50; emphasis in original). Su'ad Abdul Khabeer describes "Muslim Cool" as a way of engaging with Blackness to shape Muslim identity, confronting both the anti-Blackness present in wider US society and the ethnoreligious dominances within American Islam (Khabeer 2016, 8). This concept is related to what some other scholars term "Cool Islam", a phenomenon where Western Muslim youth adopt hybrid identities by combining "Islamic values with global cultural influences like fashion and consumerism" (Ajala 2017, 7). Visually, Miss

dynamic echoed in Miss Raisa's struggle to present an authentic self amid societal and media expectations. Social media blurs the line between the personal and public, compelling her to navigate constructed images of authenticity while facing constant external judgment.

The pivotal moment when Miss Raisa was perceived to have lost her authenticity occurred in the summer of 2022, when she made the decision to remove her hijab, a choice she openly shared on her social media platforms. It's also important to note that this incident was preceded by her public support for the LGTBQIA+ community on social media, which led to her receiving death threats – an issue that will be further discussed at the end of the last section of this article. In her message, she expressed that wearing the hijab had become an overwhelming burden due to the expectations placed upon her, making it increasingly difficult to bear. Laden with responsibilities she had not chosen – such as being seen as a representative of the entire Muslim community in Spain – Miss Raisa felt compelled to make a change. She articulated this sentiment in her autobiography, stating that “llevar el velo no es tan bonito como muchos lo pintan” (Miss Raisa 2022a, 135), and clarifying that the hijab did not define her level of faith.

However, her decision was met with significant criticism, particularly from Muslim women, who perceived her choice as a betrayal of the values associated with the hijab. Many commenters accused Miss Raisa of having succumbed to fame and social pressure, claiming she had lost her authenticity and integrity. Some went as far as to question her motives, suggesting she had used the hijab as a tool to gain visibility before discarding it once she achieved popularity. These reactions reflect a broader sense of disappointment and disillusionment among followers who felt she had abandoned a key aspect of her identity.<sup>10</sup> Miss Raisa herself acknowledged this tension, stating in her autobiography how, “con el tiempo han llegado a pensar que me he autoproclamado representante de la comunidad musulmana en España, una cosa parecida a la voz del pueblo. Esto es una tergiversación absoluta” (Miss Raisa 2022a, 10). Her decision to remove the hijab was not perceived as an act of liberation as a woman, but rather as a release from the pressures imposed by a segment of the Muslim community, further fueling concerns about her loss of authenticity.

Despite criticisms from parents at her daughter's school and Instagram followers (“juicios y críticas procedentes de mi propia comunidad [musulmana]” [Miss Raisa 2022a, 138]) – who noted that Miss Raisa had apparently removed her hijab before officially announcing it by referencing a video showing her without it during a parent meeting – she did not deny this observation. Instead, she justified her decision as a measure to “proteger a mi hija” (Miss Raisa 2022a, 137), indicating a protective maternal instinct over adherence to public expectations. This incident highlights a notable contrast between her 2020 assertion in “Déjalo” that the hijab served as a symbol of collective identity for Muslim women in Spain and the subsequent revelation that she had stopped wearing it. This disparity is further complicated by the tension between her public commitment to wearing the hijab as a symbol of solidarity and her subsequent private decision to remove it, motivated by a desire to prioritize familial protection over public consistency. As a result, Miss Raisa now faces the intricate challenge of redefining her career trajectory and reshaping her public persona to appeal to a potentially new audience. This audience includes not only her traditional Muslim followers but also individuals from diverse backgrounds, including supporters of the LGTBQIA+ community. Following the initial backlash on her platforms, the response to her decision to remove the hijab has become more nuanced, with some followers

## Hijab off: navigating entrepreneurship and addressing societal dynamics

Discussing the concept of *hijabistas* — Muslim women who dress fashionably while adhering to modest attire in line with “Islamic dress codes” — Elif Kavakci and Camille R. Kraeplin suggest that to gain acceptance from a predominantly white, Western cultural and corporate elite, such woman must downplay aspects of her religious and ethnic identity (Kavakci and Kraeplin 2017, 817).<sup>11</sup> This raises the question: to what degree does Miss Raisa, a rapper but also an influencer, prioritize a marketable Western identity over her religious-cultural Muslim identity as she shapes (or reshapes) her public image after the episode with the hijab?

By choosing to write her autobiography, Miss Raisa engages in an act of self-representation that is inherently empowering. She takes control of her narrative, rejecting external definitions imposed upon her by both Western and Muslim societies. This act of authorship allows her to articulate her experiences and perspectives, thereby asserting her autonomy in how she is perceived by the world: “se me ha discriminado junto con otras mujeres musulmanas por hablar de feminismo. ... Porque supuestamente es incompatible ser feminista y ser como yo” (Miss Raisa 2022a, 55). The renunciation of the hijab, in this context, serves as a symbolic gesture that complicates the typical discourse around Muslim women’s empowerment. In many Western contexts, the hijab is often seen as a symbol of oppression, while in many Muslim contexts, it is embraced as a sign of faith and identity. By removing the hijab, Miss Raisa is not necessarily rejecting her faith; rather, she is asserting her right to choose how she expresses her religiosity. This decision aligns with the concept of “alternative practices” of Islam mentioned by Blanca Mendoza, Marta Bertran and Jordi Pàmies, where young European Muslim women seek to connect with their religious roots in ways that resonate with their individual identities and the sociocultural environments they inhabit (Mendoza, Bertran, and Pàmies 2021, 4). Moreover, this combination of faith and empowerment directly challenges the notion that feminism and Islam are incompatible. Miss Raisa’s actions demonstrate that one can be both a Muslim and a feminist, thereby broadening the scope of what it means to be a feminist in a globalized world. Her public stance – expressed through her music, writings and social media presence – serves as a form of resistance against both cultural expectations and the restrictive narratives imposed on Muslim women. By doing so, she inspires other Muslim women in Spain and beyond to carve their paths, redefine empowerment and resist the pressures to conform to any singular narrative.

Hip-hop feminism, as discussed by Nahed Eltantawy and Judy Isaksen, lacks a monolithic definition, with some feminists (such as Tara Roberts, Eisa Nefertari Ulen and T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting) viewing it as a contested perspective due to the misogyny present within hip-hop culture. However, Eltantawy and Isaksen argue that “basic foundational tenets form this intersectional and strategic school of thought – namely, embracing ambiguity, resisting dominant ideologies through theory-building, and creating spaces for critical dialogue” (2020, 851). This debate mirrors the broader discussions within feminism, particularly regarding how diverse external forces shape experiences and identities.

My research aligns with this discourse, demonstrating that the identities expressed by women like Miss Raisa, who articulate diverse experiences within Islam, are significantly shaped by Western secular standards and the forces of globalization. Economic and cultural pressures exerted by consumer demand often dictate how these identities are

prestigious entities like the Generalitat de Catalunya, cultural forums in various Spanish cities and the European Parliament, her efforts are a testament to the interplay between individual initiative and public sponsorship within a neoliberal framework. @postdelacomunidad is an alternate account, a space for digital advocacy. On this account, she posts content related to her digital advocacy, including cultural programs, mental health advocacy and social media management.

Additionally, her collaboration with Núria Chiva, a life coach specializing in emotional stability and Gestalt therapy, has been pivotal in her journey toward empowerment and recovery. This collaboration is evident in how Miss Raisa refers to herself in both third-person and first-person perspectives, revealing the complexities of her identity. Miss Raisa credits Chiva for allowing her to embrace her new identity, noting that “Núria Chiva permetíó que Miss Raisa naciera y que me ocurrieran todas estas cosas maravillosas” (Miss Raisa 2022a, 125). The use of the third-person perspective here (“Miss Raisa naciera”) suggests a deliberate construction of a public persona – an externalized identity that represents strength, resilience and the culmination of her transformative journey. By referring to “Miss Raisa” as a distinct entity, she creates a separation between her public persona and her private self, allowing her to manage the different facets of her identity in a controlled and empowered manner. However, the narrative shifts to the first person when Miss Raisa recounts her personal experiences, stating, “cuando le dije a Núria, ella me planteó la opción no solamente de crear música, sino de compartir en redes sociales y plataformas online ... salí de mis sombras y me presenté al mundo tal como soy” (Miss Raisa 2022a, 118–119). This shift to first-person (“salí de mis sombras”) reveals a more intimate and vulnerable side of her journey. It emphasizes the personal struggles and emotional processes that underpin her public identity. By using the first person, Miss Raisa reclaims ownership of her narrative, grounding the public persona of “Miss Raisa” in her personal experience and highlighting the integration of her public and private selves.

This interplay between third-person and first-person perspectives in Miss Raisa’s narrative reflects the complexities of hybrid and contradictory identities. On the one hand, “Miss Raisa” symbolizes her cultural and personal achievements, shaped by external influences and societal expectations. On the other hand, the first-person narrative grounds this identity in her own experiences, reminding us that the public persona is not separate from her true self but an extension of her personal journey. This duality allows her to navigate and reconcile the different aspects of her identity, making her story a compelling example of the challenges and opportunities inherent in hybrid identities. These complexities align with the broader critical discourse on hybridity explored by scholars of Najat El Hachmi’s work. As I emphasized in my analysis of El Hachmi’s construction of an Amazigh-Catalan identity (Ricci 2010), hybrid identities transcend binary frameworks, fostering transnational dialogue and exchange spaces. Miss Raisa mirrors this negotiation, blending Moroccan roots and Spanish influences to challenge static notions of identity. Language is also central to both figures. Anna Tybinko (2022) highlights how El Hachmi’s “born-translated” literature critiques linguistic hierarchies, a theme echoed in Miss Raisa’s use of Arabic, Spanish and Catalan. This multilingualism asserts the fluidity of identity and resists cultural marginalization. Gender also connects these narratives. Jessica Folkart (2013) and Núria Codina (2024) show how El Hachmi amplifies women’s voices against patriarchal constraints. Similarly, Miss Raisa reclaims agency in a male-dominated



cenurable for some groups of antiracist activists to demand any responsibility from an immigrant, often offering them refuge in the harsh experiences that many times we immigrants live through and justifying that if on some occasion we commit socially harmful actions, it is probably due to some previously experienced oppression.) (Miss Raisa 2022c)

This shift indicates a move from a focus on individual and identity-based struggles to engaging with broader debates on social cohesion, the role of activism, and the responsibilities of immigrant communities within their new societies. Her 2023 stance suggests a nuanced understanding of the complexities of social integration and a call for a collective move beyond victimhood toward empowerment and proactive societal engagement.

In the press and social media, Miss Raisa offers a thought-provoking perspective on integration dynamics within immigration discourse. She posits that the integration process is inherently mutual, necessitating active engagement from both immigrants and their host communities. This is contrary to the prevailing narrative, one that is deeply rooted in the political and social frameworks of many Western nations, in which the burden of integration is typically placed on immigrants. Historically, nation-states – particularly in Europe – have understood integration as a one-sided process, expecting newcomers to assimilate into the dominant culture with minimal reciprocal adaptation or structural change from the host society. Miss Raisa challenges this view by highlighting the importance of shared responsibility. She critically addresses the societal reluctance to assign any measure of accountability to immigrants, a stance that she finds increasingly prevalent amid certain antiracist activism circles, which often argue that placing any onus on immigrants perpetuates victim-blaming and detracts from the systemic nature of discrimination. She writes, for example, in the *Ara* article about how it saddens her to see that immigrants often make little effort to learn the local language: “Em causa tristesa veure que es fa poc esforç per aprendre la llengua local” (Miss Raisa 2022c). However, this claim can be seen as a broad generalization that overlooks the diverse challenges immigrants face, including systemic barriers to language education, socioeconomic limitations and the need to preserve cultural identity (Ricci 2024). While some may struggle to learn the language, attributing this solely to a lack of effort fails to consider the complex realities that influence their ability to do so.

Additionally, Miss Raisa critiques the commercialization of activism, suggesting that it often fails to promote critical thinking: “L’activisme s’ha convertit en un negoci que genera molts diners, però lamentablement no fomenta ni promou el pensament crític entre aquells que segueixen cegament certes pràctiques i accions” (Activism has become a business that generates a lot of money, but unfortunately does not foster or promote critical thinking among those who blindly follow certain practices and actions.) (Miss Raisa 2022c). Her rejection of a victim narrative is also evident as she asserts “no vull ser la pobra immigrant a qui discriminen per ser marroquina, musulmana o per qualsevol altra etiqueta, bàsicament perquè no em percebo a mi mateixa d’aquesta manera. Sóc una ciutadana més, una persona més, amb tota una motxilla carregada d’experiències i vivències” (I don’t want to be the poor immigrant who is discriminated against for being Moroccan, Muslim or for any other label, basically because I do not perceive myself in this way. I am one more citizen, one more person, with a backpack full of experiences and life lessons) (Miss Raisa 2022c). By choosing to distance herself from these discourses, Miss Raisa invites a critical examination of her approach’s depth and impact. While her intent to navigate societal expectations without perpetuating divisiveness is



reminiscing about their encounter at an event at the Ajuntament de Barcelona and highlighting the significance of that moment (Miss Raisa 2022a, 176). Conversely, Moroccan-Catalan writer and activist Sara Touri has repeatedly urged Miss Raisa to take a stance on the Israel-Palestine conflict, marking her requests with Palestinian flags without receiving a response.

In her recent social media updates, Miss Raisa discussed her reduced online presence, attributing it to a professional transition while hinting at a possible comeback. These insights reveal her ongoing journey of self-discovery in her late twenties, characterized by a complex mix of emotions, including fear, frustration, distrust, nervousness, insecurity and self-destructive tendencies. The conversation around Miss Raisa's transformation demands a nuanced analysis that contrasts sharply with the critique presented by Sheik Qomi, an Iranian Muslim theologian and university professor, in his YouTube video titled "Respuestas contundentes a la última blasfemia de la cantante española Miss Raisa y LGBTQ+". While Sheik Qomi's commentary, which has garnered 6,945 views as of April 2025, is often fueled by fear, aggression and violence, a more thoughtful examination is necessary to understand the complexities of Miss Raisa's evolution and the diverse reactions it elicits.

Sheik Qomi's critiques are rooted in a defensive posture aimed at preserving traditional Islamic values against what he perceives as the encroachment of Western ideologies. His discourse, which portrays Miss Raisa's actions as a betrayal of her faith and community, taps into a broader anxiety within the Muslim community about the influence of Western cultural norms. By framing her support for the LGBTIQ+ community and her shifting stance on the hijab as acts of capitulation to external pressures, Sheik Qomi's narrative is one of resistance to change and fear of moral degradation. Yet, this analysis of Miss Raisa's evolution requires more than just an examination of her actions through the lens of religious orthodoxy. It necessitates an understanding of the internal conflicts and societal pressures that contribute to her current state of flux. The emotions she expresses on social media – fear, frustration and insecurity – are not merely symptoms of external manipulation, as suggested by Sheik Qomi, but are also indicative of a deeper, personal struggle to find a balance between her religious upbringing and her desire to engage with the broader societal discourse on issues such as gender and sexuality.

Furthermore, Sheik Qomi's rhetoric, which includes inflammatory comparisons and calls for community intervention, reflects a reactionary stance that may further alienate individuals like Miss Raisa, who are in the process of negotiating their identities. His portrayal of Western influence as a monolithic force of moral decay echoes certain racist strands of European discourse that frame Islam itself as a uniform and oppositional culture, inherently at odds with liberal European values – a view critiqued earlier in this section with the discussion of El Tayeb. Sheik Qomi seems willing to take on this reductive position, playing the straw man for such narratives, while Miss Raisa offers a more complex and heterogeneous understanding of Islam. This contrast underscores the tensions and multiplicities inherent in the identity formation of young Muslims today, especially as they navigate the intersection of faith, culture and personal belief. Miss Raisa's journey, therefore, cannot be adequately understood through the binary lens of religious fidelity versus moral corruption. Instead, it requires an analysis that appreciates the complexity of her situation – a young woman at the cusp of defining herself in a world where the boundaries between cultures and ideologies are increasingly blurred. The

Muslim influencers in Europe, including renowned Egyptian-British “Islamofashionista” Dina Torkia. The autobiography serves as an illustration of what Redmond has termed the *celebrity confessional*. This concept describes how individuals who possess a certain level of fame openly and candidly discuss their origins, referring to their modest beginnings and any struggles and challenges they have faced (Redmond 2010, 2; quoted in Barron 2020, 184).

3. The terms Euro-Muslim and Euro-Islam have been in use for over twenty-five years. I adopt the term Euro-Muslim as defined by Khri-Allah (2021), Khir-Allah (2021) which describes individuals who blend their Muslim religious practices and cultural heritage with the sociopolitical realities of European society. For Euro-Muslim women, this identity is deeply shaped by the intersection of challenges such as Islamophobia, sexism and cultural stereotyping. These women navigate the tensions between Islamic traditions and European secular modernity, often reclaiming practices like wearing the hijab as expressions of personal choice and faith rather than symbols of oppression. This stance challenges colonial-era stereotypes that depict Muslim women as passive victims needing “liberation” from their cultural or religious contexts. Instead, Euro-Muslim women assert their agency within frameworks that respect their multiple identities, advocating for an intersectional feminism that acknowledges the coexistence of faith, heritage and autonomy. By doing so, they redefine feminist discourse to be more inclusive and reflective of their lived experiences, demonstrating how religious and cultural traditions can harmonize with modern European societal values.
4. Uploaded to YouTube on 17 November 2019; 215,241 views in April 2025.
5. Uploaded to YouTube on 6 November 2019; 534,602 views in April 2025.
6. Uploaded to YouTube on 10 December 2019; 655,213 views in April 2025.
7. Neoliberal and popular feminism both emphasize a form of feminism that aligns with mainstream cultural and market values, making them more palatable and accessible. Neoliberal feminism frames women as individual entrepreneurs, focusing on personal responsibility and achieving a harmonious work-family balance, thus aligning with neoliberal ideals of individualism and market success. This approach often diminishes the oppositional and structural critiques that traditional feminism entails. Similarly, popular feminism, which includes media-friendly expressions like celebrity endorsements and social media activism, promotes a positive, uplifting image of feminism. It focuses on visibility and empowerment yet frequently overlooks deeper structural issues such as patriarchy, racism and systemic violence, creating an accessible but often superficial engagement with feminist ideals (Banet-Weiser, Gill, and Rottenberg 2020, 1–11).
8. Due to space constraints, this is as much as I can include in my article about Al-Safaat and Río Paraiso. I am working on another project involving these two influencers, along with rapper Huda (@hudalaamarti) and queer Amazigh-Extremaduran activist Aicha Josefa Trinidad Gououi (@aichatriniad), focusing on their Instagram posts, YouTube videos and TikTok content. These women adeptly intertwine their personal narratives with discussions on universal and nonuniversal Muslim feminisms. In the digital space where faith, music, politics, race and fashion converge, they have carved out a significant presence within the Islamic culture industry.
9. The lyrics in the video read as follows:

A nosotras nunca nadie nos dio nada regalado ... / Tus derechos, que lo tomas como el pan de cada día, / se ganaron gracias a aquellos que creían una utopía. / Tus vacaciones pagadas, derecho a huelga, jornadas de ocho horas. / Cada una de estas conquistas llenas de historia, / como la lucha feminista, antirracista, / cada protesta, cada huelga, es un paso que se conquista. / Para ver el futuro hay que mirar al pasado / porque estamos orgullosos de todo lo ganado. / Porque en cada victoria hasta el final se ha luchado. / Respetemos el legado, / defendamos lo logrado. / Becarios, maestras, autónomas, diseñadoras, peluqueros, doctoras. / Si le ponemos ganas, / ganamos todos y todas. (Miss Raïsa 2023b)

10. Other hostile responses accused her of discrediting the hijab by appearing without it and questioned the need for such exposure. Some dismissed her narrative as a manipulative

(2012) and *Letras Marruecas II. Nueva Antología de escritores marroquíes en castellano* (2019). Email: cricci@ucmerced.edu.

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